

4 Lit. hist. v. 17.

A
P R O T E S T

A G A I N S T

T. PAINE's "*Rights of Man*;"

ADDRESSED TO THE
MEMBERS of the BOOK SOCIETY of —,

IN CONSEQUENCE OF THE
VOTE of Their COMMITTEE for INCLUDING the above
WORK in a LIST of NEW PUBLICATIONS RESOLVED
to be PURCHASED for the USE of the SOCIETY.

"HAVOCK AND SPOIL AND RUIN ARE MY GAIN." MILTON.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR T. LONGMAN, IN PATERNOSTER-ROW ;
G. NICOL, BOOKSELLER TO HIS MAJESTY,
PALL-MALL ; AND W. RICHARDSON,
AT THE ROYAL-EXCHANGE.

M,DCC,XCII.

[PRICE ONE SHILLING.]



ADVERTISEMENT.

IN a populous Village near the Metropolis, a considerable number of the Inhabitants have formed themselves into a BOOK SOCIETY, whereof a COMMITTEE is annually chosen, for the purpose of selecting such books as they think proper to be circulated among the Society at large. At a meeting of this Committee, one of the Members proposed the publication entitled "*Rights of Man.*" Another Member resisted strenuously the choice of a book which he considered as an insidious address, under a fictitious and ensnaring title, to weak heads and to bad hearts ; as replete with indecency and scurrility ; and as dictated by a desire of involving a free and happy country

try in confusion and ruin. He thought it would be a very indifferent compliment to the Society to suppose that they could derive any satisfaction from the perusal of a work which, as it seemed to him, could be read with pleasure only by the disaffected and the disloyal, and which must excite the indignation and abhorrence of all Friends to the British Constitution. He also felt the force and justice of a sentiment which he had found in that very useful and amusing compilation entitled *The Spectator*, purporting, that those who take a pleasure in the reading and dispersing of such detestable libels, fall very little short of the guilt of the first composers; and apprehending the maxim to be true, that “want of decency is want of sense,” in regard to the original composer of a work, he did not conceive that the distributors thereof could be altogether absolved from the obligation of the same rule.

His opposition was, however, rendered ineffectual by the voice of the Majority; their own good hearts probably suggesting to them, that

*“ Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,
As to be hated needs but to be seen.”*

The unsuccessful opponent was, however, unwilling that the Society should impute to him a concurrence in the Resolution by which such a book was submitted to their perusal. To obviate that supposition, he felt it his duty to signify his Protest against the Vote which he had in vain attempted to prevent; and lest he should appear capriciously to resist the will of the major part of the Committee, all of whom he highly respected, he also felt it incumbent upon him to assign at large the reasons on which his Protest was founded. These reasons, deduced from the obvious design and tendency of the work in question, are detailed in the following sheets,
and

and appear in their original and genuine form of an Address to the Society : at the same time candour requires him to add, that the idea of publishing them was first suggested by one of those Gentlemen with whom he had the misfortune to differ upon the above occasion.

P R O T E S T
A G A I N S T
P A I N E's "*Rights of Man*:"
A D D R E S S E D T O T H E
B O O K S O C I E T Y of _____.

HAVING been unsuccessful in my endeavours, as a Member of your Committee, to prevent the introduction of Mr. Paine's "*Rights of Man*" into the Society, I consider it as due to myself, as well as a proper mark of respect to the Society at large, thus to enter my Protest against the vote by which it was resolved to present that book to your inspection. My wish is, to obviate the supposition that I concurred in such a resolution; but lest I should be thought to object on trivial grounds, I feel it incumbent upon me to assign at large the reasons upon which my Protest is founded:

In the first place, I cannot reconcile it to *my own* feelings to contribute in *any* degree to the circulation of a work, the palpable design of which is to invade the tranquillity and disturb the happiness of the State whereof I am a member; and which work, under the fallacious garb of an assertion of rights, appears to be solely intended to excite disaffection towards Government, to stimulate the people to sedition and rebellion, and to involve this free and blissful country in scenes of confusion and anarchy.

I SHOULD also consider myself as guilty of an insult upon *your* feelings, were I to put into your hands a work containing a most indecent and malignant attack upon that CONSTITUTION which is deservedly our pride and boast as Britons, and which preserves inviolate our rights and privileges as free citizens; upon a Constitution obtained by the glorious struggles of our ancestors—founded upon experience—matured by time—which has stood the test of ages—the essence of which is social liberty—the scope of which is social happiness;—in short, a Constitution which we enjoy as our inestimable birth-right, which calls for our gratitude to its venerable founders, and which it is our bounden duty to transmit inviolate to posterity.

If a book were proposed possessing a tendency which is generally considered to be immoral and dissolute, every Member of your Committee would spurn at the idea of submitting it to your notice. But can any publication be more grossly or destructively vicious and immoral, than one which tends to disturb the public order—to promote a violation of the important duties of subjects—to weaken or dissolve the bands which, by connecting Government and People, keep Society together—to withdraw the respect which both reason and religion prescribe as due to the ruling powers—to diminish the authority of the laws, and thereby to remove the restraints which are necessary to control the passions of mankind—and, finally, to sacrifice domestic tranquillity and national prosperity for intestine commotions and civil discord?

If a plan were published for the purpose of instructing and encouraging evil-disposed persons to set fire to the habitations

bitations of individuals, who would assist in the propagation of so detestable a scheme? Shall we favour then the attempts, encourage or patronize the efforts of an incendiary, who aims at the conflagration of that noble and valuable edifice the common and comfortable dwelling of us all, while under its friendly and hospitable roof we participate with harmony and affection the transcendent enjoyments of a firmly-united and a well-regulated family?

WHILE, however, I decline to take a part in the disseminating of sedition and treason, I am a real friend to fair and candid discussion, which, instead of being hostile, would prove favourable to the British Constitution. But the disquisitions of Mr. Paine are by no means of a speculative kind. Under the mask of discussion, they really point to action—they lead to turbulence and general commotion. If they were to have their desired effect, Government would be overturned; the Constitution annihilated; our lives, our liberties, and our property would be deprived of legal protection; and in vain might we look into the darksome void of futurity to catch even a faint and dubious glimpse of any security against unbridled licentiousness and unrestrained violence.

It may be said, that if Mr. Paine's doctrines be not founded in reason, their being propagated will but expose them to refutation; but who would distribute poison for the sake of the antidote? and such doctrines, although fallacious and sophistical in the extreme, nay, although they refute themselves by their glaring absurdity and inconsistency, may nevertheless, among persons of particular descriptions, and for whom chiefly they are designed, do

much harm. They are not indeed calculated to produce their effect upon strong, experienced, and well-informed minds ; they are framed for the meridian of those understandings which are not accustomed to weigh and to discriminate ; and which are ever ready, whether from indolence, debility, or inexperience, to receive such impressions as accident or crafty design may happen to produce.

THESE disquisitions are also adapted to operate upon the restlessness inherent in man ; and they proceed upon the ungenerous principle, that human nature is a fertile soil for the cultivation of discontent : but more especially do they seem to be prompted by the base consideration, that it is easy to infuse dissatisfaction into the minds of those who occupy the lower stations in Society, and that it requires but little address or ingenuity to inspire such persons with disgust and envy, and to convince them that the gradation of rank, which is indispensable to order, and founded indeed in nature, is an infringement on their rights. Schemes of unattainable equality cannot fail to be grateful to those who have but a very small portion of the goods of fortune, who are easily led to believe that disparity is an evil and an injustice to which they ought not to submit. Instead of promoting contentment and cheerful industry, so beneficial to the individual and the community—instead of pointing out the advantages which are peculiar to each station, and which prove, that notwithstanding an apparent inequality, the balance is poised with impartial justice—instead of displaying virtue as the only source of real felicity, it is the object of the modern “ Rights of Man” to create restlessness and dissatisfaction,

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and to persuade mankind, that they suffer injuries which they do not perceive, that they sustain hardships which they do not feel, that their comforts are visionary and their happiness mere delusion; in short, these doctrines find men happy, prevail on them to believe that they are not so, and in the end render them miserable.

SUCH attempts are not more pernicious than absurd—not more destructive of the general good, than unfriendly to the real interests of those whose welfare they artfully profess to have in view: for, by endeavouring to remove a due subordination, and to create contention between the several orders of which Society is composed, they tend to destroy the harmony and co-operation of the whole, and to produce evils which would fall heaviest on the lowest classes, which have the fewest resources, and are unavoidably the most dependant. It would be just as rational to attempt to persuade the Feet, that, considering their importance and utility, they ought not to submit to those offices which are assigned them—that it is a hardship and an injustice for them to be obliged to wade through the dirt, and to bear the weight of the whole body—that they are intitled to some nobler capacity, some more elevated station—that having nerves as well as the Head (the pretended seat of intelligence), their opinions ought to be taken, their will consulted, and themselves admitted into the council; and that they ought, in maintenance of their rights, to rebel against so gross an inequality of arrangement, and refuse to perform their accustomed works of drudgery.

It is, further, a favourite object with the abettors of these deceptive systems of pretended rights, to poison the tender minds of generous and unsuspecting youth—to take the judgment by surprise—to warp the reason while it is in its progress towards maturity—and to imprint injurious impressions at a period when they are most likely to be rendered indelible. By such means it is endeavoured to lay a foundation for disturbances in future generations, in case the present age, under the influence of good education and good habits, should be so fortunate as to defeat the machinations of sedition.

BUT the doctrines I allude to are particularly intended to unite and call into action the unprincipled and turbulent part of mankind, the common pests of Society; who are ever ready to second any attempts which lead to tumult and disorder. Desperate, ambitious, and malignant, their views are promoted, or their feelings gratified by scenes of riot and confusion, and they depend for their harvest upon the convulsions of kingdoms and empires. Men of this description dislike nothing so much as the restraints of law and decorum. Their wishes are thwarted by the controul of any Government which has vigour enough to protect the good from the attacks of the bad, to repel the incursions of violence and licentiousness, and to keep Society together in a firm and compact band of union. Such persons, who from the nature of their dispositions and pursuits are abundantly more watchful and active than the friends of Order, are obliged to anybody who will furnish them with a shadow of a pretext for vociferating,

ciferating, "*something is rotten in the State!*" and they would rejoice in an opportunity to

" Cry Havock ! and let slip the dogs of war."

They flock to a Declaration of absurd, fictitious, and impracticable Rights, as to a Manifesto of Rebellion or a Standard of Revolt—happy in an occasion to blow the flame which may catch all that is combustible in a State—thrice happy to find a head, whether a TYLER, a CADE, or a CATILINE, who may lead them to the attack, or at least give a consistence and a concord to their conspiracies.

FORTUNATELY, it is not so easy a matter as these incendiaries vainly suppose, to induce a Nation to part with substantial felicity and rational freedom ; their nefarious attempts, however, keep Society in a state of ferment and agitation, give uneasiness to the virtuous and well-disposed, and tend to weaken the beneficial energies of Government. Instead, therefore, of being encouraged in any degree, they ought, by all possible means, to be discountenanced by all real friends to their country. Why should a good cause inspire less vigour or less activity than a bad one ? Why should the adherents of the Constitution be less zealous than its foes ? Why should the well-disposed be less vigilant, or less animated, than those of a contrary description ? The strongest fortrefs must fall, if the garrison, supinely depending upon the strength of the walls, neglect to repel the assailants. It ought not to satisfy the minds of good citizens, to leave to Government the whole task of preserving the public tranquillity. It is on every account to be desired, that the extraordinary interposition of the public force for the maintenance of order

should be seldom resorted to. The necessity of such interference would be generally prevented, if individuals were to exert themselves within the sphere of their influence, and endeavour to check causes instead of waiting for effects; if they would overawe and discourage the common disturbers of society by a marked detestation of their characters, and by a steady and unremitting watchfulness of their measures and designs. The odium attached to vice furnishes perhaps a more general check to its progress than even the penalties of the law.

THUS, upon the whole, are the modern "Rights of Man" intended to take advantage of all that is weak and of all that is wicked in Society; of the failings and the vices, of the worst passions and the basest propensities of mankind: thus are they designed to collect into a focus the turbulent and the disaffected: they tend to embitter the labourer's toil, and to infuse the poison of discontent into his invigorating draughts, which were wont to support him cheerfully under his fatigues: and, adapted by their coarse and superficial reasonings to minds entirely uncultivated, which are unused to the detection of fallacy, and unable to trace causes to effects, they form a catechism of sedition and disloyalty for the lower orders.

SUCH are the means resorted to, in order to effect the overthrow of Government and the subversion of the Constitution. Government is a very irksome and inconvenient institution for those who dislike the restraints of law; and it is not surprizing (excepting in point of egregious absurdity), that such persons should endeavour to persuade mankind, that it is almost useless and unnecessary. Thus our
author,

author, Part II. page 8. says, that " Government is no farther necessary than to supply the few cases, to which society and civilization are not conveniently competent:" that " The abolition of any formal Government, far from being the dissolution of Society, brings it closer together:" that " Formal Government makes but a small part of civilized life; and, whenever the best that human wisdom can desire is established, it is a thing more in name and idea than in fact:" and page 10, that " It is but few general laws that civilized life requires, and those of such common usefulness, that whether they are enforced by the form of Government or not, the effect will be the same *."

BUT surely it is not possible that such trash (which I have only quoted in order to point out the cloven foot, and expose the design and the extent of our author's doctrines) can raise a film before the understanding, and obscure the real, the efficient, the universal operation of Government, either as the keystone which keeps the arch together, or as the only possible source of protection to the individual, in all the relations and in all the situations in which he can be supposed to exist.

* The example of the American States, during the war, is quoted, in order to prove that Society can exist without Government. But in a time of civil war, when a country is covered with armies, though its government be in a manner suspended, for *inter arma silent leges*; yet the very state of hostilities compresses the people into compactness and subordination, and the civil government is only merged in the necessarily more vigorous and more unlimited controul of military power.

WHAT is Society, but a state where the compulsory obligation of laws is interposed between passion, violence, and injustice, and the enjoyment of those rights which are properly recognized and defined? And how are these laws to be made and enforced without some adequate authority? And what is that authority but Government? which, as it superintends the whole, and every part, is necessarily supreme. In what condition, in what occupation, in what retirement, is not the agency of this power to be traced? And what can possibly be substituted in its place? It is the only source of all protection and of all security. True, it does not furnish the vegetative principle which makes the corn to grow, nor does it bestow the genial warmth that matures the fruit of the vineyard; but it extends its guardian influence over the swelling ear and the ripening cluster; it protects the labours of the husbandman, and defends the harvest and the vintage from rapine and depredation,

THE doctrine of Mr. Paine, that Government is of very limited importance and utility, is confuted not only by the plainest dictates of common-sense, but also by the daily experience of common life. Do we not find that every inferior association of mankind calls of necessity for some connecting and controuling authority? By what other means are the domestic concerns of a private family (the most natural type, and perhaps the original foundation of Society at large) to be preserved from confusion and ruin? What a scene would the application of equalizing principles produce in a domestic establishment? Do not the common interests of every Parish require the management, direction, and control, of a Government within itself?

Nay,

Nay, will our author assert, that in the highest state of exhilaration which he ever experienced in his politico-conjivial meetings (commonly denominated Clubs) he ever proposed to his free and animated associates to relieve themselves from the irksome authority of the chair? Ten or twenty equals, assimilated by their disposition and habits, cannot assemble for any particular purpose, and scarcely to eat and drink together, without a President, Chairman, or Head, to preserve order and decorum. But ten or twenty millions of all ranks, habits, and dispositions, associated for the protection of unnumbered complex interests, and for the preservation of multifarious rights, have but little occasion for such assistance; and with them the best Government "that human wisdom can devise, is a thing more in name and idea than in fact." Oh! the wonderful discoveries of modern philosophy!

NECESSARY indeed it is that the functions of Government should be exercised according to certain forms and rules; which, while they do not clog or cripple, and thereby deprive it of its essential energy, furnish powerful checks against the exertion of its powers for the purposes of oppression. These checks are happily to be found in that separation of office, in that distribution of privilege and function, which have rendered the British Constitution the source of freedom, of felicity, and of glory, to this country—the envy of the rest of the world, and the masterpiece to which all rational friends of Liberty throughout the globe look up, as to a matchless model for imitation. But notwithstanding that the symptoms of a sound and healthy constitution are with us so apparent, Mr. Paine takes upon himself to assert, that we have no Constitution

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at all ! Why did he not at the same time tell us that we have no funshine, no agriculture, no commerce ! Such information, perhaps, he reserves for some future compilation of his reveries.

MR, PAINE endeavours to fix an odium upon subsisting Governments by recalling to mind the scenes that stain the page of early history. But the recollection of the Norman Tyranny, of the Forest Cruelties, and the Curfew Bell, serves, by way of contrast, to attach us the more firmly to the system of security we now enjoy, against the repetition of such grievous oppressions. Our Constitution is not (as this writer would fain insinuate) founded on such a basis. We can trace its *stamina* much higher. The Norman Conquest did but retard its growth, and for a time check its principles from expanding; but did not destroy, or even ultimately weaken, the beneficial energy of those principles. Through the rapacity and oppressive despotism of the first monarchs of that line, we can connect some of our dearest privileges with the names of an ALFRED and an EDWARD. Having by its native vigour recovered from a malady which seemed for a while to threaten its existence, the Constitution has since, from time to time, been deriving new accessions of strength; and we hardly know whether to admire most the beautiful simplicity it displayed in its infant state, or the value and importance of those advantages which it gradually obtained and secured, as circumstances pointed out their necessity; and which, therefore, were adapted to obvious expedience. Nor are we to conclude, however perfect it may now appear, that further improvements may not be suggested by further experience,

perience. The invaluable bulwark which our Liberties acquired when the Judges were rendered independent of the Crown, is but of very recent date. And who will say, that any human institution can be at any time at the *ne plus ultra* of perfection? Let us not, however, be insensible of the advantage, that, instead of having to subvert, abolish, or expunge, our pleasing task is to secure, to guard, to polish, and to beautify; and let us cautiously refrain from tampering with a system so admirable in theory, so excellent in practice. There is nothing, however valuable, that the injudicious meddler may not spoil. But what madness would it be to sacrifice, in one rash moment, all the advantages which have been obtained during a succession of ages; and, as our author advises, to "begin anew:" that is to say, to lose all the ground we have gained—to give up our hold of all that we possess—to part with the substance for the shadow—to plunge from the happy state of Law and Liberty into the chaotic abyss of confusion and anarchy—and, like the senseless dissipator of the old family estate, to put it out of the power of Posterity to fool away that noble political patrimony a good Constitution, or to derive any obligation from their ancestors except a bare and unprotected existence!

BUT lest our author should fail in his *coup de main* assault upon Government in general, he proceeds to attack it more deliberately in the detail. And it seems that the monarchical form excites his keenest vengeance. Nor is this much to be wondered at. For besides that it is the most vigorous form in which Government can appear,

pear, Monarchy in this country is the principle which gives activity and energy to the whole. Monarchy is here also perhaps peculiarly obnoxious, because it is a part of the regal prerogative to be the fountain of justice; and the spring which puts the laws into execution. This is an unpardonable offence—and no pains are spared to represent Royalty as an odious and an useless institution; consisting merely of outward pomp and unnecessary parade, and attended with grievous and unprofitable expence. Endless changes are rung upon the absurdity (I believe it is also termed “inhumanity”) of bestowing a million a-year upon a single individual. Mr. Paine must have a very contemptible opinion of the understandings of Englishmen, if he thinks they can be imposed upon by such fallacious suggestions (reasonings they certainly are not). Does he conceive there is not sense enough in this country to discover that the yearly million he alludes to is paid, not to the man, but to the King—not to the individual, but to the office—not as a sinecure gratuity, but for the most essential and important functions? Although he may chuse to consider the Crown only as a “metaphor” “shewn at the Tower for sixpence or a shilling a-piece,” we know and value the strength and vigour of our Monarchy; we feel that its interests are but reciprocal with those of the country, which has “grown with

* The same luxuriant and poetical fancy which views a Crown only as a “metaphor,” may probably contemplate Justice as meaning nothing more than a female figure with a bandeau before her eyes, and poising steadily a pair of scales 1 *Et sic de similibus.*

" its growth, and strengthened with its strength ;" we esteem those useful and efficient prerogatives with which the Constitution has invested our King as a grand source, and as an essential security of our national consequence and felicity ; and we see with admiration the exercise of those prerogatives so wisely and cautiously guarded as to render it impossible they should be abused to the detriment of our liberties. Accordingly, we are so far from grudging the liberal allowance which we present by our representatives, at the commencement of each reign, for the support of the regal dignity, as well as for the various charges on the Civil List, that we think no money can be better bestowed * ; and we no more wish to diminish the splendor of our political than that of the natural Sun.

ANOTHER quality of the Monarchy which gives great offence, is its hereditary nature. Nor is this to be wondered at : the bustle, the strife, the confusion, the cabal, the intrigues, and the anarchy which are sure to attend the election of a King, would be replete with entertainment and gratification to those whose turn

* Mr. Paine, in his First Part, says, that " the salaries of the Judges are " almost the only charge that is paid out of the Revenue." Now it happens that the Civil List, consisting of one million per annum, defrays all expences that respect Civil Government, as well as those which are personal with regard to his Majesty ; and that, besides the salaries of the Judges, the appointments of Foreign Ambassadors, those of all Officers of State, all pensions, secret-service-money, the expences of the household establishment, those of a numerous family, as well as his Majesty's privy purse, depend alone on this fund.—This may serve as one of many instances of Mr. Paine's talent for misrepresentation.

of mind or of politics leads them to favour such scenes. Besides, what a fine opportunity for plots and counterplots would an *interregnum* afford! But those who prefer a tranquil instantaneous succession to a violent or bloody election—those who think a regular and uninterrupted continuation of the functions of Government preferable to their occasional suspension—those who had rather be governed by a Monarch in a course of descent from an antient and beloved race, than by one imposed upon them by the strength or address of a party, or by force of arms (which must ever be the case in an elective Monarchy); such persons, I say, will rejoice in the hereditary nature of the Crown. Besides, the convulsion necessarily produced upon a regal election would disturb and unhinge the whole machine of the Constitution. It would have required a degree of candour very inconsistent both with our Author's plan and his practice to have noticed, that the inconveniencies which he refers to as arising from the nonage, idiotcy, or other incapacity of the person on whom a crown might devolve in an invariable course of descent; cannot exist, where, as in this country, the power of Parliament extends to provide against such cases. And as the objections which are urged against an hereditary succession to the crown, on account of the possible prevalence of personal ambition, or of a tyrannical disposition, in the character of the reigning monarch (which objections apply with much more force to an elective monarchy); they are of little weight where the powers of the crown are so limited by, so connected with, and so dependent upon, the other powers known to the Constitution of this country:—

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At a time when the exercise of the kingly powers was free from those important checks which have been since interposed (for many of our most valued securities have been obtained within little more than a century), this nation proved that it was out of the power of the monarch to violate or alter the Constitution, and to diminish the Liberties of the People. In short, our Monarchy, although in its principle hereditary, yet is by no means indefeasibly so, there being a power in Parliament to pass over, for sufficient cause, an individual who may be evidently unfit to succeed; deviating, however, no further than necessity requires, from the strict line of succession. And however the exercise of despotism may tend to corrupt the heart or contract the understanding, the situation and the limited though respectable authority of a King of England are calculated to instil into his mind principles of public virtue, to form him to the habits of good government, to enlarge his understanding, to cultivate in him a regard for the real and permanent interests of his people, and to render him the most benevolent and useful of human beings, “a Patriot Prince!”

HAVING laboured, though I trust very unsuccessfully, to create a prejudice against the Crown of this kingdom, Mr. Paine next endeavours, with much malignant scurrility, to seduce the affections of a loyal people from the Sovereign on the throne. He wishes to weaken the attachment subsisting between this Prince and his people, by representing the royal lineage as possessing very slender ties with the country, and as proceeding from a foreign stock, recently imported, by an injudicious choice, to sway a sceptre

with which it had no previous connexion. How false, how insolent to Britons, are such insinuations ! Does this vain and malevolent writer fancy it to be in his power to make us forget, that the Sovereign who is dear to our hearts, both for his personal virtues and for the attachment he has always shewn to the Constitution, is also the descendant of the *original founder of the British Monarchy* ? The various channels through which the royal blood has flowed for nearly 1000 years, are at length happily united in an illustrious Protestant line ; and the *ancient* crown of this kingdom is now worn, with hereditary right, by a Prince, who, while he sits on the throne of his ancestors, reigns with more unlimited sway in the affections of his subjects.

NEITHER can it be in the power of wanton and licentious indecency to stifle our attachment to persons and families whose memory ought ever to be dear to Englishmen. It is not surely for malice and misrepresentation to make us forget, that the Houses of ORANGE and BRUNSWICK have rendered us essential services at critical times, and that to them, under Providence, we are indebted for the continued enjoyment of privileges which distinguish us from the rest of the world. Such names have been hitherto mentioned with veneration by our most ardent and enlightened patriots : such names will continue to be venerated by all who, being rationally as well as fervently attached to the Constitution itself, cannot remember with indifference those persons and families which have been the instruments of its preservation.

IT may not be inapplicable here to observe, that nothing can be more different from a pure and liberal flame
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of real patriotism, than that coarse and paltry disposition which delights in abuse and invective against all persons invested with power and authority. The former can even oppose with respect, and will render serious and determined resistance (should that ever become necessary) more weighty and efficacious, by the dignified decency from which it never departs: the latter is incessantly violating the wise and salutary precept which forbids us to "speak evil of dignities:" its principal gratification appears to consist in railing against the higher powers: it seems to depend for *personal* consequence upon attacking *that* of superiors: or, perhaps, it considers nothing as so great a proof of magnanimous hardihood and independent spirit, as boldly to treat with gross scurrility characters and situations which the rest of the world look up to with respect: and, like the unblushing profligate, it delights to wound and to torture the feelings of those who retain a sense of propriety.

WHAT can be more base and ungenerous than the disposition I allude to? The order of civil society (partaking of the invariable principle of nature itself) requires a progressive gradation: and the highest ranks, exposed as they are by their elevation to the shafts of malice and envy, are but little coveted by the unprejudiced philosophical mind, that justly appreciates the advantages and disadvantages of respective situations. The station of Royalty itself, with all the dazzling glare which surrounds it, is far from being enviable: arduous as it is elevated—the symbol of power, but clogged with restraints unknown to inferior rank—impeded in the enjoyment of numberless

individual comforts—debarred even of some of the most common, and at the same time the most valuable privileges of nature—encumbered with *regalia*—shackled with forms and ceremonies—conspicuous always by the blaze of its own rays, and precluded from the delicious gratifications to be found in seclusion and privacy—beset with anxious cares, and eminently exposed to calumny, to plots, and conspiracies—while the high and important office of a King, for the sake of the public good, calls for such sacrifices from the Man, how unworthy and ungenerous must it be to delight in wounding his personal feelings, and in planting his Crown with additional thorns? How much more consistent with the duty, as well as the interest of subjects, to alleviate his cares, and to smoothe his rugged path by demonstrations of fidelity, loyalty, and affection! Nor is it in the indulgence of such sentiments that we shall be either pledged or disposed to submit to oppression. The feeling, the generous, and the loyal character would be the most strenuous, and the most manly, in defence of its rights, and of those of the country at large. A nation so composed would be the last to be attacked, but would never be enslaved*.

So true is it that the rational loyalty of a free people is itself a bulwark of their freedom, and by uniting them

* In the year 1771, the Rev. Mr. HORNE expressed himself as follows:
 "I would offend the Sovereign with as much reluctance as the parent."
 "Whoever or whatever is Sovereign, demands the respect and support of
 "the people. The union is formed for their happiness, which cannot be
 "had without mutual respect; and he counsels maliciously who would
 "persuade either to a wanton breach of it."—I trust, that in 1792 JOHN
 HORNE TOOKER, Esq. is under the influence of the same sentiments.

closely together in one common sentiment, as well as one common interest, preserves concord and happiness at home, and creates consequence and respectability abroad. Thus, while the parent lives, a numerous offspring are held together by the influence of a common feeling, and constitute a compact, harmonious, and happy family, in proportion to the prevalence of filial regard; illustrating thereby how much a sympathy of sentiment tends to conciliate affection. But when this bond of union is withdrawn, the parts it held so closely together are separated and dispersed; while indifference or coldness, if not discord and animosity, too frequently succeed to that harmony and attachment which formed the chief delight of early life.

It is the happiness of this country to have a monarch who reigns not only the King but the fond father of his people; while *their* chearful and affectionate loyalty constitutes the happiness of his life, the chief glory of his crown, and the strength, prosperity, and splendour of the nation,

AND shall we, while the gloom, the dismay, and the universal stagnation, occasioned by the yet recent malady of our common Father are fresh in our recollection—while our hearts still vibrate with the transports of joy which assailed us on his welcome and almost unhopedor recovery—shall we countenance the most audacious insults on his person, and the most malignant attacks upon his Crown? Or shall we demonstrate our attachment to himself and his family, by consigning the authors of such attempts to their proper station of contempt and infamy?

As the direct way to demolish any building is, Sampson-like, to pull down the pillars by which it is supported; in order to abolish Monarchy it is found expedient to attack the aristocratical branch of government. Hence a violent outcry against orders of Nobility, which it is not *impossible* may excite the envy of those who are thus vociferous.

MR. PAINE seems very desirous that his readers should consider the rank of Nobility as consisting merely in a frivolous exterior distinction, in "ribbands, garters, and "nick-names *;" another insult on the understanding and experience of Englishmen; who know, by the aid of both, that a Government like theirs, partly monarchical, requires not only a gradation of rank, but also an intermediate legislative order, interposed between the monarch and the popular representative, and connecting them together by a kind of middle nature, while it occupies with advantage the otherwise too great space existing between them; and which, depending for its own preservation on that of the other two branches, is rendered thereby the natural guardian of both, and a powerful check against the encroachment of either.

THE people of this country are by no means such superficial observers as Mr. Paine supposes or wishes them to be.—Far from confining their attention to externals, they can see that the pomp and splendour annexed to the rank of English Nobility, are but appendages to a high

* Mr. Paine's ingenious definition for the term Title,

situation, and to important public duties, both of the legislative and judicial kind. Such a situation and such duties should surely be ever accompanied with something to impress the senses; for it is not in the nature of man to be always engaged in abstract operations. Nor is this order, with us, possessed of any peculiar privileges, but such as are requisite for the free and beneficial exercise of its functions. In every other respect, the Peer and the Peasant are under the equal administration of equal laws, which know not any difference between them in regard to those important rights which are founded in nature, and to secure which is the grand object of society.

FROM such a community of interest with persons of this elevated station, who would be equally injured with ourselves by any infringement on the rights of the subject, we derive an important additional security for the preservation of our liberties. And thus the Peers of Great Britain, though not actually deputed, do virtually possess a representative character, obliging them cautiously and firmly to protect those rights which they enjoy in common, and which they can enjoy only in common with the people at large; while the existence of such a rank in the State, besides its other advantages, is conducive to the promotion of a spirit of virtuous enterprize and of honourable emulation; and its hereditary nature is necessary both to render it independent of the Crown, and to insure its stability and its permanence.

MR. PAINE, in his endeavours to create a prejudice against Monarchy and Aristocracy, retails very artfully the

common-place topics of objection to which each is liable in its simple form: and he as artfully avoids mention of the disadvantages attending a Government consisting solely of a Democratic representation. But it might not be unfair to ask him, Whether in that beverage of which his libations are perhaps sometimes composed, he finds that the spirit and the limpid element, the sweet and the acid ingredients, do each retain the same precise properties when combined together, which they severally possessed in their separate and independent state? or, Whether they are not blended that each may modify and correct the other, and that a new and agreeable effect may be produced from the union? The allusion is a very familiar one, but I hope excusable if found to be apposite. The Government of this country is compounded of those three forms in which alone Government has ever appeared, and which have ever proved highly objectionable in their separate exercise; and by blending them together in wise proportions, it secures the advantages of each, while it escapes the inconveniencies which they are severally calculated to produce. It is this union which has caused the happiness and splendour of Great Britain, and which affords a solid and permanent basis for the freedom of its inhabitants: it is this assemblage which has attracted the admiration of the world, and called forth the applauses of those who have been most distinguished for their talents and powers of discrimination.

ONE of the first men of the present age, whose name will ever shine, with almost unrivalled lustre, in the history of the human mind, having been unjustly suspected of not affording
his

his entire approbation to that mixture of forms which constitutes the British Government, seized with avidity the occasion which the late discussion of the Quebec Bill in the House of Commons most opportunely presented, of declaring his political creed on this subject; and he then stated it to be his decided opinion, that every simple form of Government, whether Monarchy, Aristocracy, or Democracy, was essentially bad; and that there could be no good or complete system of Government without a proper mixture of all three. Such, he observed, had always been his sentiments; and whoever thought otherwise of him, had been mistaken; especially if they thought he was an enemy to Aristocracy; the direct contrary was the fact; and there was no man in that House who considered a proper and well-regulated Aristocracy, *such as formed a part of the British Constitution*, more essential to the formation of a good Government than he did; that a certain degree of Aristocracy was absolutely necessary as a poise between the prerogative of the Crown acting against the rights of the People, and the influence and liberty of the People acting against the monarchical power; and that therefore a mixture so constituted that each was a check upon the other, he conceived to be the Constitution of this country, and the best Constitution in the world*.

NOR is the testimony of the most enlightened of the Ancients wanting in favour of such a system of Government, in point of principle, long before it was ever reduced into practice. Thus Tacitus regards the triple form as highly deserving of admiration; but as he

* See Mr. Fox's Speech on the Quebec Bill.

could only view it in theory, it appeared to him rather to be coveted and admired than likely to be effected; and, indeed, as too excellent either to be practicable or permanent *. Our long experience has, however, proved that his apprehensions in these respects were unfounded, and thereby his approbation must to us appear unqualified with any restriction. But Cicero beheld the plan of our Constitution, which it was not his good fortune ever to see realized, as the most perfect that could be supposed to exist; and he bestows upon it his unqualified applause in terms remarkably apposite and descriptive †. I might also adduce other testimonies from ancient wisdom to the same purport, were it at all necessary.

BUT to return from such short-sighted mortals as Tacitus, Cicero, and Mr. Fox, to the enlightened advocate for the newly-discovered "Rights of Man"—it appears that the objections of this writer, when thoroughly understood, are not pointed so much to the abstract nature of particular forms of Government, as to the existence of any Government at all; so that whatever form might be substituted, if it were efficacious, and capable of answering the purposes for which all Governments are established, the same dissatisfaction and the same cavil would ensue: nothing perhaps could produce acquiescence, or carry conviction, but

"What makes all doctrines plain and clear,

"About a thousand pounds a-year."

* *Cunctas nationes et urbes, populos, aut priores, aut singuli regunt; dilecta et his et constituta Reipublicæ forma LAUDARI facilius quàm evenire; vel si evenit haud diuturna esse potest.*

† *Statuo esse optimè constitutam rempublicam, quæ ex tribus generibus illis, regali optimo et populari, modice confusa.*

Then

Then, in all probability, any Government capable of protecting the rights of property would be admired, vindicated, and supported: but at present all the old, that is, all the subsisting and long-established Governments are condemned in the lump; and what he chuses to call "the new representative system engrafted on Democracy" is, according to his ideas, the only good plan of Government. But where upon the whole surface of the globe is this plan reduced into practice? Where does it now exist, except in our author's brain? for, according to him, it "rejects" Monarchy both elective and hereditary." It must also, I presume, reject Aristocracy, to which he ascribes in substance "the same vices and defects" as to Monarchy. Therefore, according to Mr. Paine's own principles, even the form of Government traced out by the new Constitution of France, as well as that now existing in America, must be radically bad, as being inconsistent with his "new (fangled) representative system." For in the former Monarchy is inseparably interwoven, though, for want of an aristocratical branch, it has been already greatly encroached upon; and the latter, after a trial for several years of the pure democratical representative system, has found it necessary to adopt both Monarchy and Aristocracy: for the President, under that denomination, is invested with monarchical prerogatives; and the Senate constitutes a Middle Chamber: so that American experience contradicts all Mr. Paine's notions of Government*.

NOR

* AMERICA, during the short period since the establishment of her independence, has found, that the democratic form was not calculated

NOR is it probable, that the new Constitution of Poland will better accord with our author's sentiments; for that crown, from being elective, has thereby been rendered hereditary, and its prerogatives have been strengthened and enlarged: and what is perhaps worst of all, this change has been brought about without any infringement of order and public tranquillity. It should seem therefore that none either of the old or of the new Governments can afford any gratification to Mr. Paine's fastidious palate! But in seven years the scene is to be entirely changed; for that is the utmost period allowed by his prophetic spirit, "for the continuance of Monarchy or Aristocracy in any of the enlightened countries of Europe." If America has not disoblinded him, I suppose he means her the same favour, and that she is only omitted through momentary forgetfulness; or possibly the monarchical and aristocratical establishments may cease to disgust at the distance of 3000 miles. At all events, in seven years the jubilee of our author is to take place in Europe. What a scene in prospect for so ardent an imagination—what a feast for so

for the government of three millions of people, though spread over so immense a territory; and in the year 1787 she new-modelled her Constitution, assimilating it, as nearly as circumstances would allow, to that of Great Britain, by adopting the triple form of Government. In respect to the monarchical part, it was to be expected that, like many other new States, she would at first fill the executive office by election; and the General under whose conduct success had crowned a long and bloody war, was, according to all human experience, the natural object of universal and peaceful choice. But when no such source of general agreement shall exist, and when various claimants, prompted by ambition, shall be supported by clashing interests, the crown of America, should it continue to preserve its unity, will probably become hereditary.

luxurious

luxurious a fancy—to riot on the spoils of Monarchy and Aristocracy—of so many Monarchies and Aristocracies ! The Church too, both catholic and protestant, he doubtless considers, are a part of his prey. How will he fly from sweet to sweet, till sense shall be cloyed with enjoyment, and satiety shall accompany repletion. Pity to be obliged to wait even seven years for a consummation so devoutly to be wished ! But the interval will probably be filled up with scenes both busy and agreeable, *if nothing unpleasing take place through the officious interference of public justice.* Certain it is, no delay will be imputable to our author, who, to accelerate this millennium, this fifth age of the world, engages himself “to labour as fast as he can.”

BUT to do Mr. Paine justice, his system does not go the full length of absolutely excluding every kind of Government. Modern Philosophers, however, differ widely as to the denomination which belongs to that species of Government which our author's principles tend to establish.—Some call it Freedom, and others Anarchy ; but I incline to think that neither of these terms, at least in their absolute and extreme sense, can properly be thus applied ; for both, when so taken, negative every idea of Government, which cannot exist altogether without restraint.—Some middle term will probably be more apposite, and perhaps none will accord better than the familiar and homely appellation of *Mob Government*. It is not surprising, that when the Supreme Authority appears in this shape, such a state should be mistaken for Freedom ; for this form of Government leaves people *free* to do all the mischief they please, and only restrains them from doing good.—

good:—It sets the passions and the vices of mankind at liberty, and controls only their virtues.—It deprives the Few, indeed, of those personal and indefeasible rights, to protect which is the grand object of the social union.—But then it bestows upon the Many, powers and privileges that are seldom found to exist in Society; and so the balance is greatly in favour of Freedom. Such an Administration is also extremely vigorous and operative—and it can in a very short time produce more considerable and lasting effects than any other in a much longer period. Thus it can abolish all subsisting laws without the delay of a formal repeal; and in lieu of a multifarious system nicely adjusted to almost every case that can be the subject of legal reference, it can institute at once a plain, simple, and intelligible code, by the aid of which justice may be administered in a cheap summary manner, and without the costly tediousness of expensive tribunals. This species of law is called the “law of the strongest:” – and as *it approximates* very nearly to the law which must predominate in a state of pure nature, it is, I presume, for that reason, much in favour with those who are the most strenuous for what *they* call “natural rights.” But besides abrogating the laws, the active Administration I allude to, when in full exercise, can as rapidly demolish all the old powers, establishments, and institutions which were recognized by them—it can suddenly lay in ruins the former Government, and the entire Constitution itself, whether good or bad. The crash occasioned by such an overthrow must be sublimely dreadful and awfully magnificent to those who delight in stupendous scenes; and the country, relieved of such a load, must quickly experience, in a great variety of views, the effects of its deliverance.

THUS,

THUS, in a *political* view, it will be released from the burthen of its foreign connections and engagements, and freed from the incumbrance of those treaties by the obligation of which it was before fettered. Why should the *jus gentium* be more sacred than the law of the land? It is true the faith of the nation may be broken, its honour tarnished, its weight and respectability diminished, its commerce and revenues annihilated, and the bugbear of a public bankruptcy may stalk abroad—but what are such considerations when put in competition with the establishment of unrestrained Freedom?

IN a *domestic* view, all orders will be levelled—all distinctions effaced—the partial and troublesome rights of property (formerly held sacred) will be annulled—and security and tranquillity made to depend (as every thing undoubtedly ought) upon the sovereign will of the Multitude.

IN a *moral* view, all those obligations which have been hitherto considered as sacred and inviolable, will be cancelled. The antiquated virtue long known by the name of the *Amor Patriæ*, together with all sense of duty to the State, which has protected the otherwise defenceless moments of birth and infancy, will be extirpated—and a narrow attachment to the *natale solum* will no longer prevail. In like manner the more limited impulses of parental affection and filial duty, of conjugal love, fraternal regard, and friendly attachment, and all the minor ties which had before connected man with man, and rendered them mutually subservient to each other's felicity, all these will give way, before a mad and unbridled licentiousness

tentiousness—heating the imagination, intoxicating the mind, inflaming the passions, and corrupting the heart.—Names, however, may probably be substituted for things; and the absence of all the generous emotions of nature, will perhaps be called philanthropy.

IN a *philosophical* view, civilization, which had arrived at a high degree of perfection under the genial influence of settled government and certain laws, will recede much more rapidly than it had advanced. The interests of literature must surely suffer, and the arts and sciences be deprived of all fostering patronage; when the supreme power is in the hands of the illiterate Many, who have neither acquaintance with nor respect for such refinements; and before whose Gothic ravages, the monuments of fame and merit, the depositaries of learning and the archives of science, will speedily disappear. The gloom of night will then again succeed to radiant day; barbarism will be reproduced; and a new age of romantic chivalry will be wanted, as the harbinger and the instrument of a more perfect civilization.

SUCH would be the blessed effects of a Government founded upon Mr. Paine's principles. But it is plain that human nature cannot long subsist in a state so little calculated to provide for its wants and necessities. Therefore the Government of the Mob, destructive as it is despotic, is generally of very short duration. The bulk of the people soon become weary of a condition of such restlessness, and pant for quiet and tranquillity. They find that their causes of complaint (whether they were before real or imaginary) are alarmingly increased; their difficulties greatly augmented

mented, their resources in proportion diminished, and their enjoyments, their means of subsistence, nay, even the recompence for bodily labour, and handicraft and skill, become, like every thing else, precarious and insecure. At length, some new combination of power, prompted by ambition, and probably supported by those who were foremost in the subversion of order and in the clamour for "rights," takes advantage of the harassed and enfeebled condition of the country; and, after more or less resistance, according to the strength or weakness of contending cabals, assumes to itself unlimited dominion; to preserve which, it must exert the most absolute and despotic powers, and rule with a rod of iron; while the people, suffering from the ravages of such a convulsion, are reduced to submit to a new and galling yoke, which is better only than an entire absence of established rule: and, farther than ever from obtaining their just privileges, they find themselves destitute even of those which they had before possessed; so that, with great truth it may be said, that "the last state of that people is worse than the first."

WHAT a pleasing contrast to such dreadful scenes, is to be found in the felicitous state of this country, where Liberty, instead of being a savage and destructive monster, inspiring terror throughout the land, and making itself known only by its excesses, is a real, an universal, and a permanent blessing—founded in law—the equal and inviolable birth-right of every individual—giving a manliness and an energy to the national character, and being the source as well as the security of our greatness, prosperity, and happiness as a

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people.

people. Who is there, of the most clamorous assertors of rights, that will point out an instance in which the liberty of a single individual can be illegally invaded in this country? Where is the power that can deprive the British subject of the protection of the laws? And shall we listen with complacency to those who counsel us to exchange this state of mild and rational freedom and of tranquil happiness for savage ferociousness, intestine dissensions, and outrageous violence? Shall we clasp the demon of Discord to our breasts, even while the fiend is waving the torch of sedition? No! let us rather shew ourselves deserving of the name and of the privileges of Englishmen; not only by a resolute defence of our glorious Constitution itself, but by a marked indignation against those who dare to treat it with insult, or to "labour" at its overthrow.

IT is one of our peculiar and most estimable advantages to possess legal, orderly, and constitutional means for the correction as well as the prevention of abuses; and thereby every motive for violence is obviated, and every excuse for disorder taken away. While we are true to ourselves we are invulnerable. Our grand and constant object should be to preserve and enforce the true *spirit* of the Constitution, and we should resort to *that* alone for the explanation of our rights: regarding *it* as our Polestar, not only to direct and regulate in all cases of difficulty and danger, but to be our constant and invariable guide through every part of our political course. We should cautiously guard and preserve the constitutional independence of each distinct part of our government, and consider every infringement upon the regular functions (whether deliberative

rative or executive) of either, as a derangement of the balance, and as tending to the destruction of the whole machine. Above all, we should be both vigilant and honest in the exercise of the important duties of electors; and by observing and enforcing the many salutary regulations which the Legislature has interposed to check the too prevalent spirit of bribery and corruption, we should do all in our power to preserve the purity and independence of the popular part of our Government. And if, in spite of all our care, evils and abuses should creep in, we should resort to constitutional remedies alone for their correction; and consider as our worst foes all who advise the application of any means which are not so authorized and prescribed. Such means can never fail, while pursued with temper, discernment, and concord; and in the honest and judicious use thereof, we shall have no occasion for insurrections or revolutions even until the end of time.

It may also be of use to bear in mind, that the best of all possible institutions, operating upon a subject so defective as human nature, must ever in point of practice fall short of absolute perfection. Such a consideration will not only preserve us from visionary and romantic wishes for what is really unattainable (than which nothing can more pervert the proper and useful bias of the mind), but it will also guide to the real source of defects, and to the most natural means as well of preventing as of counteracting them. Nothing can be more obvious, than that the beneficial energy of even our own excellent Constitution will ever be checked, in proportion to the prevalence of dissipation and depravity in the manners and in the minds of the people. Instead, therefore, of imputing blame where none
is

is deserved, let us trace evils to their actual cause, and there apply the remedy. Let every real friend to his Country and its Constitution do all in his power, by precept and by example, to inculcate and recommend a spirit of order, œconomy, temperance, and industry; and the practice of those duties which are prescribed by morality and religion.—Let him resist as much as he can the increase of luxury and dissipation, which enervate the mind, degrade the character, disqualify for manly and noble exertions, and open all the sources of corruption.—Let him, in short, exert himself in aid of magistracy and the police to check the baneful contagion of vice and immorality, remembering that an independence of mind, so congenial to freedom, is also nearly allied to purity and simplicity of manners.—While the Throne exhibits so excellent a pattern of all the virtues which ornament humanity and benefit mankind, how should the influence of the bright and useful example be communicated from rank to rank, till it pervade the utmost recesses of society!—Then, indeed, would civil liberty be invigorated and adorned by private virtue and domestic happiness.

I AM not now affecting to sermonize, or even to moralize—I am viewing the matter in a *political* light only.—The *moral* and *religious* display of these topics is the peculiar province of the *pulpit*. But their *civil* importance calls for the attention of the statesman, the philanthropist, and the citizen. It is possible that the depraved manners of a people may not only endanger their freedom, but render it a curse instead of a blessing—and liberty, by degenerating into licentiousness, becomes its own certain destroyer. But without carrying our apprehensions
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So far, it is a truth which concerns us most nearly, and which cannot be too often repeated, that the benefits derived from our **CONSTITUTION** will exist in greater or less perfection, in proportion to the prevalence of a virtuous principle among ourselves: those, therefore, who wish for the continued and compleat enjoyment of that great and invaluable blessing will neglect nothing that can tend to preserve it in purity and vigour, to enforce its true spirit, or to promote the genuine operation of its salutary influence.—They will venerate it themselves, and recommend it by their own example to the veneration of others.—They will inculcate in their children an early and habitual acquaintance with its history, its nature, and its excellencies, together with a steady and rational attachment to its principles.—They will support it, at all times, by a firm and resolute, though a decent and orderly adherence; knowing that irregularity and violence would involve a direct violation of its spirit: and they will, if occasion should require, be ready with cheerfulness to risk their lives in its defence.

So shall the **BRITISH CONSTITUTION**, the suitable and happy portion of those who deserve to be free, remain firm, immoveable, and unimpaired for countless revolving ages; deriding the utmost malice of its foes; and secure, amidst all their senseless clamour, as the adamant rock lashed by the foaming surge of restless billows.

THE END.



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